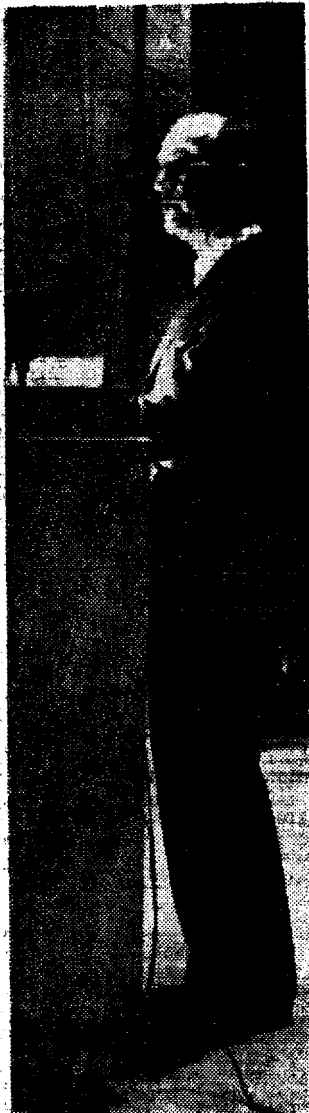


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By a Staff Photographer

Sen. J. W. Fulbright
 'What would we do with
 total victory?'

Fulbright Assails Rightists

By Richard Neff
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 The Christian Science Monitor
 Medford, Mass.

In quiet, steady tones, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D) of Arkansas talked about the need for strength and compassion, wisdom and vision, moderation and common sense in Americans' view of foreign affairs.

The Senator's accent has evident roots in his native Arkansas, but traces to Oxford University where he was a Rhodes Scholar years.

Mr. Fulbright recently delivered the first of three William L. Clayton lectures at Tufts University, sponsored by Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts.

In urging American patience coupled with strength, Senator Fulbright challenged right-wing thinkers who call for "total victory" over the Soviet Union.

Proponents Criticized

"I am not at all sure what 'total victory' means," he said, though granting that the phrase has "an exhilarating ring" to it.

First of all, he stated, proponents of total victory offer no way to win it, and certainly it cannot be won by some brilliant stroke of diplomacy, rational argument, or nuclear war.

"Even more perplexing . . . is the second question, which is what we would do with [total victory] once it were won," said the Senator, who has gained wide bipartisan recognition for his work as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Technical Problems

"Even assuming that we could somehow manage the immense technical problems of occupying vast territories of our defeated enemies and finding the human and material resources to 're-educate' hundreds of millions of people, are we really certain that we have the wisdom, vision, and compassion with which to reconstruct the world according to the specifications of absolute morality?" he asked.

In other words, could or should the United States system be imposed on a defeated enemy, the Senator asked by implication.

He pointed out that the "total victory" of the Civil War and Reconstruction offer a dreary precedent and that similar "victories" in World Wars I and II have generated many more problems than they have solved.

Alternatives Cited

"The prices of these victories was the loss of the worldwide hegemony of the Western nations. The price of a third such 'total victory' would be the probable destruction of Western civilization as we know it."

Then what is the alternative? There are many options between the extremes of total war, he said, "The West can

1. Fulfill the highest values of its own civilization while encouraging the forces of moderation and common sense that are by no means entirely absent from Soviet society."

2. Use every possible military, political, economic, and cultural tool to convince Soviet leaders that their dreams of world dominion are "dangerous and unattainable."

3. Make it clear to the Soviets that they have nothing to fear from the West, so long as the Soviets reject their expansionist and subversive ambitions.

The Senator forecast that within a very few years the balance of power will shift to the side of the West, because of the success of the European Common Market, Franco-German reconciliation, and the rise of an Atlantic community.

This shift of balance, however, may cause the Soviets to panic, he said.